

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4757

S E C R E T ATHENS 5365

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US GR TU CYP

SUBJECT: CYPRUS PROBLEM: REQUEST FOR GOG FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT  
WASHINGTON

1. EARLY THIS AFTERNOON MFA TELEPHONED EMBASSY TO SAY FOREIGN  
MINISTER MAVROS WISHED TO SEE AMBASSDOR URGENTLY. SINCE  
AMBASSADOR NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE ADCM WENT TO MINISTRY.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER MAVROS EXPLAINED HE HAD JUST COME FROM  
MEETING WITH PM CARAMANLIS, MOD AVEROFF AND MILITARY CHIEFS.  
PURPOSE WAS TO REVIEW SITUATION IN CYPRUS, PROSPECTS FOR NEXT  
ROUND IN GENEVA AND GREEK SECURITY MATTERS INCLUDING DELICATE  
BALANCE BETWEEN CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT AND ELEMENTS IN GREEK  
MILITARY, PARTICULARLY THOSE CLOSE TO BG IOANNIDES.

3. MAVROS EMPHASIZED THAT QUESTION OF GREEK PARTICIPATION IN  
GENEVA NEXT WEEK WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED IN LIGHT OF EFFECTIVE-  
NESS OF CEASEFIRE AND INDICATION OF TURKISH GOOD FAITH TO PRO-  
CEED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF SC RESOLUTION 353. HE ADDED SINCE  
IT SEEMED CLEAR TURKS CONSIDERED THEY HAD RIGHT MAINTAIN  
FORCES ON ISLAND AT PRESENT LEVEL AND EVEN INCREASE THEM,  
GREECE HAD SIMILAR RIGHT. GREEKS PLANNED THEREFORE TO  
REINFORCE NATIONAL GUARD. GREEK OFFICERS THAT HAD PARTICIPATED  
IN COUP AGAINST MAKARIOS WERE BEING REPLACED AND NEW COMMANDING  
GENERAL BEING SENT TO CYPRUS AUGUST 5.

4. ALTHOUGH MAVORS EMPHASIZED CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT SATISFIED

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THAT TOP LEVEL MILITARY CHIEFS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT

GOVERNMENT, THERE WERE SIGNS OF UNEASINESS AMONG LOWER RANKS OFFICERS. BG IOANNIDES HAD VISITED CHIEF OF STAFF YESTERDAY TO INFORM HIM THAT THESE OFFICERS WERE ACCUSING GOVERNMENT OF BEING TOO PRO-NATO AND PRESSING FOR OPENING TO SOVIET UNION. MAVROS INDICATED IOANNIDES HIMSELF WAS PERSONALLY NO LONGER SOURCE OF CONCERN BUT MUCH OF HIS SUPPORTING APPARATUS REMAINED IN PLACE. FOR EXAMPLE, COL. PILIHOS HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO MARINES WHICH WERE IN STRONG POSITION IN RELATION TO SECURITY SITUATION IN ATHENS. GOVERNMENT HAD TO BEAR IN MIND THAT IT HAD TAKEN OVER AT REQUEST OF MILITARY AND MUST MAINTAIN ITS SUPPORT. THIS MADE GENEVA SITUATION EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

5. MAVROS REFERRED TO WHISPERING CAMPAIGN WITHIN ARMED FORCES TO EFFECT THAT CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT HAD INTERFERED WITH WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL GREEK MILITARY INTERVENTION AND THAT GENEVA DISCUSSIONS WOULD LEAD TO NEW GREEK HUMILIATION AT HANDS OF TURKEY. CONSEQUENTLY, IF GREEK SHOULD SUFFER SET-BACK IN GENEVA ON EFFORTS TO ARRIVE AT SOLUTION OR OUTCOME THAT COULD NOT BE SUCCESSFULLY PRESENTED EITHER TO GREEK PEOPLE OR DEFENDED WITH GREEK MILITARY, FUTURE OF CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE AT STAKE.

6. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND HE REQUESTED ADCM TO TRANSMIT URGENTLY TO WASHINGTON HIS DESIRE TO MAKE "BLITZ VISIT" FOR PURPOSE OF REVIEWING SITUATION WITH SECRETARY AND OTHER KEY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS. PURPOSE OF THIS VISIT WOULD BE TO CONVEY DIRECTLY DEEP GREEK CONCERN ABOUT PRESENT SITUATION SO THAT U.S. WOULD "HEAR FROM HORSE'S MOUTH" EXACTLY HOW MATTERS STOOD FOR GREECE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. SUCH VISIT WOULD ALSO ENABLE HIM TO OBTAIN FIRST-HAND U.S. VIEW OF NEXT ROUND IN GENEVA DISCUSSIONS, ESTIMATE OF TURKISH OBJECTIVES AND PROSPECTS FOR EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SC RESOLUTON 353. FROM GREEK STANDPOINT SUCH VISIT WOULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION OF CLOSE AND POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN U.S. AND CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN MAINTAINING CONFIDENCE OF GREEK MILITARY. IT WOULD ALSO GIVE GOG BASIS FOR DETERMINING HOW FAR IT COULD EXPECT TO GO IN GENEVA. MAVROS WENT SO FAR AT ONE POINT AS TO SAY HE WAS DOUBTFUL WHETHER HE COULD GO TO GENEVA AT ALL IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IF HE DID NOT FIRST HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT IN WASHINGTON.

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HE RECOGNIZED THAT SOVIET REACTION TO SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE ADVERSE BUT OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO GOG, PARTICULARLY SINCE SOVIETS OPENLY SIDING WITH TURKS.

7. MAVROS EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IF U.S. AGREED TO THIS COMING TO WASHINGTON AS PROPOSED, HE ALSO COULD CALL ON UNSYG WALDHEIM IN ORDER TO OBTAIN HIS VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF SC RESOLUTION 353 AND UN ROLE IN CYPRUS. IF TIME PERMITTED,

SINCE HE WOULD NOT PLAN TO RETURN TO ATHENS BEFORE GOING TO GENEVA, HE WOULD ALSO TRY TO MAKE BRIEF STOPOVERS IN PARIS AND BONN TO CONSULT RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS. IN THIS CONNECTION HE MENTIONED THAT EC-9 WERE MEETING TODAY TO CONSIDER CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH OBJECTIVE OF FINDING WAYS TO BRING THEIR INFLUENCE TO BEAR CONSTRUCTIVELY ON PRESENT SITUATION.

8. FOREIGN MINISTER SAID TODAY'S MEETING HAD AGREED TO COMMIT GREEK DIVISION OF 10,000 TO BE READY ON DAY'S NOTICE TO MOVE TO CYPRUS. THIS WOULD BE IN ADDITION TO 20,000 ALREADY THERE. ORDER FOR THEM TO MOVE, HOWEVER, WOULD BE SUBJECT TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON THE GROUND BUT THEY WOULD BE IN STATE OF COMPLETE READINESS TO MOVE ON DAY'S NOTICE.

9. GIVEN DELICATE SITUATION PREVAILING HERE WHICH ON BASIS OF ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY AND OUR PREVIOUS REPORTS MAVROS HAD NOT EXAGGERATED, EMBASSY BELIEVES VISIT TO WASHINGTON AS PROPOSED BY GOG WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL, BOTH IN TERMS OF SUBSTANCE AND APPEARANCE. MAVROS' REQUEST TODAY IS PRODUCT OF MEETING AT HIGHEST GOG LEVEL IN WHICH TOP MILITARY LEADERS ALSO PARTICIPATED. PRECARIOUS SITUATION ON GROUND IN CYPRUS AND CONTINUED TURKISH VIOLATIONS OF CEASEFIRE -- MAVROS TODAY USED FIGURE OF 90 -- ADD URGENCY TO GOG PROBLEMS WITH ELEMENTS OF GREEK MILITARY HERE. ON ASSUMPTION USG OBJECTIVES INCLUDE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF SC RESOLUTION 353, CONTINUATION OF GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, RESTORATION OF BASIS FOR SOUND RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, ESPECIALLY WITHIN NATO FRAMEWORK, AND SURVIVAL OF CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT, EMBASSY STRONGLY URGES FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF GREEK REQUEST. TIMING IS CRUCIAL. MAVROS HOPES FOR ANSWER OVER WEEKEND.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 AUG 1974  
**Decapton Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decapton Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <26 FEB 2003 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CYPRUS PROBLEM: REQUEST FOR GOG FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT WASHINGTON  
**TAGS:** PFOR, US, GR, TU, CY, (MAVROS, GEORGE)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005